1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kadi 'l-kilasi le-'Ngorityiai, ashikop, ashikori en-ipikarri enipukitoi 'enghore 'enatwua gitoto. Kolimanyi eng-arishig, enitki eng-ang' o'l-ashwa lenyo, enwishare el-mishwa, ee 'l-kidgenak nare 'l-dharnata lenyuna, ee 'e-gitoak are o'ng-ang' o'Ngorityiai.

Kumanikiye, enikitoi ake ekitt en enetaloi. Ore pe eleitki, enishori en-gurai, enitoki.

Ten siyuna el-mishwa o-Ngorityiai, nemenipit eng-arwa enye, ana torroo. Ekishgitki en-arua. Kuyur nabidg eiyuniye eng-arua o'l-gurai lenyo, anna 'l-ee-Uiuru.

Ten aata el-tadgenai en-'l-Kumaa 'e-gitoa kwanak, enitoitoi siyuna 'Ngorityiak kumak. Ekii kolikae enisyuna 'Ngorityiak ore, ana tuai, ana ekigwaa; kake siyuna il-kumiai, tan siyia, tooroo ana tigitikin.

Ten siyuna el-Kumani kat'-arwa enaki kat'-uai, enitoka en-gitok enye eng-ainai el-mishe, ana siuye ainaiye eng-ainai ejo 'Ewake.

Kotitoi il-Kumaa siyuna 'Ngorityiak o'ng-ejo enye ten [illegible] siyuna 'Ngorityiak o'e-gitoitoi enye, enitoi siyuna 'Ngorityiak o'ng-ana kitoitoi.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home.

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the future age.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Ewake, i.e. the giver and receiver of a calf.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself or both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan.

C88 ilkopesi ake nesi Sarita nare, nare ilo ake nalai il-loiborsiro e-lido ilmorisi.

Ten ter el-Kumsi ilkon-Kumsi, ntij, 'Elayo 'l-alieng'; ntij, 'Elmoriake' Ilij el-Kumsi ene el-Kisera 'l-nesik.

C85 Ken, ten ter el-nesinsi el-likon, pe nitidy ee-gisk, naidoreyo lido ilnidoligo el-likon e-ecyan e-kare. Ken, ten ter el-likon, nagil el-ntie, e el-le'le-gijo, e el-le'leg-aiton, e el-le'l-loiborsiro, naidoreyo ee-daresa.

C87 Ken, ten tesi-el-nyisi nesinsi, nedidi anna el-nesinsi, kake elakuni 'l-loiborsiro nesina.

Re-giraye.

C84 [361] Kesi el-nesinsi nedei el-nyisi eidie nalaitare ee-gisk e-'l-yanar le-nesaya. Ten nyisinsi, nedidi.

Ore ten eidei, naidoreyo 'e-gisko ere, ee-e'le-naidoi, nesaryaye 'l-pelyani pe nedidi. Ø el-kitidy-ityudy 'l-pelyani ten kok ee-naidoi.

C86 [362] Kedei nedinsi ange ten elaitare 'e-gisuk nedei 'e-daiyo e-'l-yanar lesaya. Ke ten[illegible]

Adultery.

He warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two cows (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

From this it will be seen that if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age this is not an offence*.

* This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relatives are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say one head of cattle.

C86 [363] * From this it will be seen that the Masai are polygamous as well as polyandrous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

2: Bernardi E, 36-6 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

monies are not performed by some selected individuals on behalf of others, as for *Boldokwat* and *Bodongoro-Enpiloto*. Also from a territorial point of view all these ceremonies differ. A single performance of *Boldokwat*, which opens the class-period, is valid for all Masailand; *Bodongoro-Enpiloto*, which opens the unit-period, is sectional; individual initiation is held at each village. The following diagram illustrates the correspondences.

A candidate's age for individual initiation is indicated by Peekenyore as 10-11 years. The principle for admission to initiation seems to be that the candidate must have passed his puberty, and his father must have performed "the passing of the house" as described above. [1]

Circumcision is the central point of Masai individual initiation. The ceremony is performed in three stages, a) a testing of the pastoral behaviour of the candidate, b) the ordeal of circumcision, c) a period of special segregation.

a) On the eve of circumcision day the candidate is completely shaved by his mother. The elders are entertained with meat and beer [2] at the house of the candidate's mother. [3] Then the elders

[1] Cases may occur of boys who have to be initiated at an earlier age for some special reasons. Peekenyore, l. c., p. 39, records the ceremony of a father's rights having to be initiated in his early puberty in order to inherit.

[2] Merker, l. c., p. 307, states that a bullock is slaughtered and called *el-ongolionoi* — the (animal) that has caused him to be taken out of the boys' cattle. Fox says that a number (3, 5 or 9) of goats are offered to the elders.

[3] There is no special meaning in the use of the mother's house. The reason is occasioned by the arrangement of a Masai polygynic village. Every

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

"ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly".[32] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kipsigis is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed "in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned" (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator is said never to be a Masai. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other leaders or officers out of the pure Masai.[33]

Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain "shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises" (Bagge).[34] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *eng alipata*, after which he is allowed to speak.

The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), waving branches takes place to the entrance of the boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the father, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[32] We may surmise that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and sexual behaviour. Fosbrooke states that "prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to". The same custom is observed among the Nandi-speaking peoples.

[33] Cfr. the election of the Ol Oi [illegible] at the *Emboloosat* of the *el* [illegible] boys, the [illegible], and the [illegible] at the *Eunoto-Engiboto* of the *el* moran at the [illegible].

[34] Leakey states that it is "absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosures during the whole of the ceremony". No further details are given nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Masai authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Masai culture.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-aidon* or *paipe*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitoky*, *pa-ruke*, or *pa-ropon*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ruke*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kitoi*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-ninj* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ruke*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-nighirio*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitoky*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-nighirio* instead of *papa* and *ti-ngitoi*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa'a-dunye*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-ruke* or *pa-nanyuk* when talking to each other.

● [595]

The following terms are found: *pa-kitoky*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-nanyi*, the bullock; *pa-kitoki*, the cows; *pa-ningitoi*, the bull; *pa'a-dunye*, the heifer; *pa-kitoyi*, the bull calf; *pa-ruke*, the calf; *pa-kwe*, *pa-ere*, or *pa-nditoi*, the he-goat; *pa-kitoi*, the she-goat; *pa-kitoki*, the kid; *pa-kere*, the ewe; *pa-nanyuk*, the ram; *pa-nighirio*, the donkey; *pa-ropon*, the ewe lamb; *pa-runa*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa'a-dunye*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-ningitoi*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-ere*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitoky* and *pa-kere*. These presents have nothing to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

[583]

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-ayoi*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey.

[593]

593 626 754 This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not commonly listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
F.L.12 Masai F.L.12

776 In connection with the divided belief of the Masai in a God, it may be noted that they have also some minor deity called Naiterkob—apparently, as far as I could learn, an earth spirit. They have faith in witchcraft, though the efficacy of the lykos, or medicine-man, lies not in any innate ability of his own, but in his power of intercession with Ngái, who works through him, and imparts magical virtues to various objects. Their conception of the Deity seems to be marvellously vague. I was Ngái. My boy was Ngái. Ngái was in the steaming holes. His home was in the eternal snows of Kilimanjaro. In fact, whatever struck them as strange or incomprehensible, that they at once assumed had some connection with Ngái. Their prayers to him were incessant. Nothing could be done without hours of howling, whether it was to seek direction where to slaughter their enemies, or to ward off a disease. The most sacred thing among them is the grass. Held in the hand, or tied in a sprig to the drum, it is a sign of welcome and peace. Thrown at any one, or into some mysterious place, it is an invocation for a blessing on the person, or a propitiatory offering. Next to the grass comes the milk. No libation may be taken with it. The milk must be drawn into calabashes specially reserved for its reception, into which water is not allowed to enter—cleanliness being ensured by woodashes. To boil it is a heinous offence, and would be accounted a sufficient reason for renouncing a caravan. It is believed that the cattle would cease to give milk. The cows, it may be remarked, are never milked except in the dark.

855 Mowa found married life sadly dull after his warrior experiences, and to kill time he accompanied one or two war-parties. But that was exceptional. His time henceforward was chiefly occupied in eternal and interminable discussions on the most trivial questions, or wandering long distances on visits to his friends, while his wife stayed at home to milk the cattle, or occasionally made journeys to neighbouring hostile tribes to buy grain. She, however, was in her element when a caravan came round, and then she enjoyed the double pleasure of an intrigue and a lovely present of iron wire and beads.

● 545 In time Mowa's first wife became old and ugly, and he took to himself a second—the former being stripped of all her iron wire for the purpose of decking the new comer. At last the day dawned for both of them, and one after the other, they formed the subject of horrible hyenas' laughter. Those fierce

9:Foxbrooke C-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FL12 Masai FL18
Kisoko

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Matisi will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laiboni, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is now for general discussion, S pointing out that he gave a heavy last time, T drawing attention to the fact that S has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading 'Modern Adaptations,' since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which items to laiboni levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beads from amongst themselves to take to the laiboni.

Another demand which a laiboni makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, water transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laiboni see a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increase his demands. Parit (II) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Mawsland when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwani paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbaiya (III), on a safari to Kikuyu in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemaiyia, although she was engaged to another. Kaparo (III) paid one head towards the dowry and contributed the cowskins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mombi, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbaiya demanded and was given one girl from Simenjiro and another from Longonot. Taiko (III) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Garoya; the latter asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laiboni, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laiboni for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laiboni to let either son's daughters or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and also with doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Ilogilenga clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the tenth-month child-dilemma was merely a Kikuyu importation. But if, as we believe, the Masai and Kikuyu were

9:Forbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisumbo

When blood money is paid, it is less valued than

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which female were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to estimate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies in the whole clan to greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

2. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gate' — polygamy — marriage stabilities — number of cattle in each gate — relations in law — inheriting — adoption — crossaids.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, two or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engutuma*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes to the bomb her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for smoking, some of the unattached cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engutuk e kas*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, subdivisions, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the *manyatta*, warriors' village, but this is now frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for the responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in *manyattas* in the bush (*el pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has married again.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gete with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included, and sometimes married women are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gete' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Mawai elder attempts to make a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Mawai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the menyo, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with (late) erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Mawai; within the agnate the wives are considered to all agnates, and an agnate's enemy is he the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is commonly prohibited, but in extension practice is acknowledged by the Mawai, and in fact receives general countenance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. But that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor menyo. These economics and sociology are clearly linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygamy is practised can be judged from the following table —

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kilinga	Senetoo	Engoon-nuk	Longido	Total
	men wives	men wives	men wives	men wives	men wives
Total unmarried	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —
One wife	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Two wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Three wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Four wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Five wives	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Over five wives	— —	— —	— —	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total polygamists	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —	[illegible] —
Total of men and women	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

9/Pocbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisanka

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives claiming in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in every case the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Kuku, figures from Brown and Hunt's "Anthropology in Action", page 197.

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	KUKU	
Unmarried men	42.2%	28.2%	} of adult
Men with one wife	55.1%	68.6%	} male
Men with two or more wives ...	02.7%	03.2%	} population.
Wives for every 100 married men ...	101	102	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows :—

Marriage of Women.

	Kilagu	Donotoro	Engo-nyuat	Longido	Total
Total women	222	199	98	324	843
Total married women	17	33	31	48	149
Percentage married	13.8%	14.9%	31.6%	30.9%	29.9%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 900 adult males there are only 900 wives, but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 900 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their married sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out, it was found that there were approximately 1 wives to every Dorpit, 1.3 to every Dorotu and 3.3 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four cows, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those moran who pay too but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of wives to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below :—

However, there will be no lack of married men willing to be the physical father of her children, there are married men may have intercourse with unbetrothed girls, see yet with their own wife or wives if with child.

Married women make a point of having intercourse immediately after menstruation in order to "get a child." All children born to a woman who is married are considered to be the children of her husband, no matter who their actual father may be. Owing to this system it may happen that by the time a man leaves the warrior stage and passes into the Elders' stage, and goes to live with his wife, he may find that she already has one or more children.

Normal Marriage (of a subsequent Wife).—In the case of a girl marrying a man who already has one or more wives, she simply goes to his village—where she has either already built a hut or had it built for her—as soon as the clearing ceremony is over after her initiation. She then lives with him in the normal way and he will probably be the physical father of her children, although not necessarily so, as she is permitted to have lovers if she wishes it, provided they are married men.

Forced Marriage.—It occasionally happens that the father of a man who is still in the warrior class decides for some reason or another that he wishes to have his son at home—wishes, in fact, that his son should leave the warrior stage before the age-group to which he belongs is due to move up to the Elders' stage en masse. In such a case he waits until the girl to whom his son is betrothed has been initiated and is ready for marriage (or even arranges for her initiation to be hastened) and then proceeds as follows. The marriage transaction having been completed and the girl's new hut built in the village, he sends for the girl and includes her in the hut. He then arranges with some of the young men of the same age-group as his son to bring the youth to the village on some pretext or other. The usual pretext is that of going to the village to ask for a bullock for a meat feast (*see* Part III). As soon as the village is reached these young men together with some older men seize the man and carry him forcibly to the girl's hut. The girl is alone in the hut; not even her mother may be present when the man is brought in. The two—man and girl—are forcibly held together so that their bodies touch. Once his body has touched hers (an initiated girl) to the presence of witnesses he cannot go back to the warrior group, and so has to remain and reconcile himself to premature married life with its restrictions.

Marriage of a Virgin.—There is a very curious custom connected with the marriage of a girl who is a virgin in the physical sense of the word, *i.e.* of a girl whose hymen has never been penetrated. Should a girl's husband find that his wife has come to him in this condition, he must send her back to her father's village the next morning carrying on her back a milk gourd evident to stranger. This is a sign to her father that she went to her husband as a virgin, and her father must send her back to her husband with a gift in the form of a heifer as compensation to the husband. The husband may not himself perforate the hymen until this heifer has been received.

12: Fon G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking towards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

Text-fig. 1.

contribute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ba Dalandi).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who survives, she alone owns cattle in this era, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among his sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. I have very frequently

his father's home or to his own mountain. But it seems that a commoner is prohibited [295]
which debars the husband from the prohibition on members having sexual relations
with married women.

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers [297]
she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has [297]
had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her [298]
husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her [298]
husband's death are considered as his.

Polygamy

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Driberg's men says [245]
that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives
are common, three and more are found much less often, and many men have only
one wife. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, and as the first wife
on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. In each wife are
observed rules which she holds in trust for her children.

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide [287]
and flexible. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own or of any more senior [414]
to his wife, and thought men of one agnatic are not supposed to cohabit with the
wives of another agnatic, to practise this rule is little observed. A woman is not
supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not
have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy.

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a compensa- [284]
payment may accrue, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of the agn
relatives, or, if she is at fault, to her father.

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted, and were called [317]
children of "bondwomen". (Those who are not Nuer) may be adopted, especially by
Nuers of Eastern. Such children become accepted as Nuer. Under the term "adop-
tion" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a
father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and
a woman who may adopt a child of one of her co-wives.

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, and [311]
previous. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and when the child has been
born they greet us as we are supposed by the father; and they continue as a refrain for
the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels [311]
strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in
it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife might be seen as [312]
the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it [312]
is between one and two years old. (Middle says till the baby where it sits the two [312]
middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a [312]
boy is preferred to a girl.

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is [312]
taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the fifth day, which begins [313]
with the killing and cooking of an ox. The meat is distributed to the inhabitants [313]
of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, walks
the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother

Lib.	Member			PLIS	Member	PLIS
001		810	[The mythological antonym of the origin ch			
002		814	Livestock and dogs	see category 636, p.		669
005		840	honey as a source of food			380
004		781	insect galls			381
411		154	chalk formed of insect			382
004		159	insect as a source of food			383
004		803	insecticides			384
001		810	cities and townships			380-389
			counting and number words			370
			7-day week			378
			polygamy			311
			of silkworm and chrysalis			311
			interventions			340
			double-edged knife			340
			sorcerers			340
			physicians			340
			translations for war as non- idioms			340-349.]

/[illegible]/

recovery from their pains. Mbaryon named outstanding event through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zanden and two old blood, Mbaryon, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Europeans that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the blood by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye — allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the latter should destroy in childhood one eye of the two later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly grey full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol olbarí nor the ol ajeruni and ol lkwaña mentioned further below ever pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

The chief's village consists of a large number of beehive lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol olbarí with his numerous wives. Mbaryon had always five wives: the still young Zanden has only [illegible] of them. No stranger man may enter these dwelling beehive of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the beehive, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and to which a few elder men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (ol dalgerak olarrú ol olbarí) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the exertion of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbaryon was severely disabled, he often spent months on the open steppe in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony at the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference hood, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

/76 cont./
are separated from one another by their backwards, and the huts are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny branches placed around them.

One distinguishes between kraals for the married (*ing si si*) *amasiki* and kraals for the married (*si amajuba*). In the former live the married men (*si amasiki*) with their families, in the latter the married (*si amabele, si amasi*) with their mothers and the half-grown, unbetrothed girls /77/ (*ne ibia, i bele*). One sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to one another, three of which were (i) *ezomo* kraals. A dense thorn-barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

The married men on the average has five to six wives, usually one love in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and

33. 0. Kraal; pas Gesicht die Tor.

[illegible]

The [illegible] [illegible], or gifts, exist, and [illegible] are used only so long as the above-mentioned words of address are not effected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of [illegible] [illegible], because the girl is not in a position to make the customary gift of livestock.

The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with [illegible] of [illegible] my child. The address for the grandfather can be [illegible], for the grandmother [illegible]. The grandfather calls the grandson [illegible] [illegible], the granddaughter, [illegible]. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are ruled by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

(c).

Conjugal relations. — Betrothal. — Bans of being betrothed. — Bride price. — Breaker of the bride price. — Obstacles to marriage. — Wedding. — Beginning of the marriage. — Dissolution of the marriage.

The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some cases even from the latest event to extra-erudite courses or from extremely [illegible] neighbors. In among the latter — and, in his case, with [illegible] exception (1) —

1. The [illegible] consanguinity of the Washington
2. to practice the hidden polygyny.

polygyny (or with among the latter). The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. There are no [illegible] or civil marriages; rather, marriage is a mere public relationship. The woman through the marriage passes into the family of her [illegible] husband, but can see his lineage [illegible] the precise membership in her own lineage.

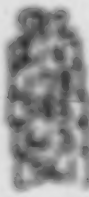
[illegible]

[illegible] for the [illegible] of the married man. But before the marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price [illegible] - five things, each pair of them, an [illegible] - five things he first pays the bride's father five pairs of heavy [illegible] which [illegible] he [illegible], furthermore three more and so on. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before, the [illegible] bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former will wash other [illegible].

1. Cf. Gerard Fink, III, [illegible] of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law will wash other [illegible] then are on. Every wife married [illegible] receives at the wedding from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon the new will wash other [illegible]. From the eldest child of her husband two goats or sheep, before the address [illegible], and from the smallest children of two to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible] a thought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, since the wedding, and now when the wedding [illegible] and are [illegible]. In the family of Chief Ibedieo he received, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gave two donkeys, a bell and a cow with calf. Since the two [illegible] it has happened not infrequently that a man is set to a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and lives for a time as a man indebted out of grace. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of [illegible] himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. But a [illegible] wife married [illegible], the mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,



[21 cont.]
by his one or more clans, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (3)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(a) [man] or to his age-class associates (a) wife. The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a man's younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the elder brothers, younger sisters not before the elder sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the latter are rare in Uraboro, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between [two brothers and sister] is not permitted; this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and either of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[22] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of Mariamitte and those of matrilineamitte is not permitted.

[23] Widows [of girls], [girls] or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with sons who belong to the age class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man.

[24] The man may not even [on a Sunday marriage act] or least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

[25] The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an earlier custom, is payment on the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal to which the bride's parents live.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(142) The future of the Ideal People. — Weighing the effect of the people-preserving and people-destroying forces. — Polygamy. — Nutrition. — Fertility. — Child mortality. — Free love. — Organization. — Wars. — Epidemics. — Excessive pride. — Clash of the cultures of the Ideal with that of the Europeans. — The incompatibility of the two from the Ideal. — Graceful consequences of the degeneration. — Difficulty of becoming extinct.

(143) In order to make a prognosis about the future of the Ideal people it seems necessary, first of all, to weigh the people-preserving and people-destroying forces established in the people, to its character and customs, and then to observe the phenomena that appear when the Ideal meet the Europeans. We have many examples of the fact that polygamy does not promote an increase in the population to the extent that monogamy does as a rule. As the reason for this phenomenon one finds an accumulation of wives in the hands of the wealthy, and, as a consequence of that, celibacy for lack of women among very many of the less well-to-do and among the poor. It is obvious that under such circumstances polygamy leaves very many women ungarried. But it is different among the Ideal. So here there is such a surplus of women — perhaps in part again as a result of polygamy — that no man remains celibate. In fact the possession of only one woman is an exception. Hand in hand with this goes the not so unequal distribution of property; in practice there are scarcely any poor people. Another reason to which [illegible] the decline in population among many polygamous peoples is sterility in the polygamous marriages as a rule are relatively poorer in children than monogamous ones. This objection is not to be taken into consideration here either, for we have seen that the fertility of the Ideal women is very great.

Yet, to enter fully to consider the polygamy of the Ideal in its economic effect, we must observe the milieu in which it exists. The polygamous household of the Ideal may be compared to a men's company, to which the property, theoretically belonging solely to the seven fellow beings in practice. The seven fellow is the chief

[illegible cont./]

[illegible] dandelion, the use of the dance are to the bands of his wives, who acquire these dances through the birth of a son. Through his wives, who have the duty to tend and care for the livestock, are interested in the preservation of the property in the most sensitive way. This is the one factor of the polygamy of the Masai possessing prosperity with all its advantages for the political economy. The other one is the fact that many women give birth to more sons by one man than one woman could. Sons, however, male offspring are supervisors of the personal property. The boy grows up to become a warrior and brings his family the spoils of the successful raids, through which not only is the herd increased, but, through the supply of new blood, is also improved.

Polygamy among the Masai is therefore a correct institution. Without a large number of women would be deprived of their natural occupation, a condition that seems impossible for a primitive people. It is, moreover, a source of prosperity, which, among a culture-poor nomadic people, can only serve [illegible] for their preservation as a people. From it follows, first of all, good nutrition, which makes the body resistant to the effects of illnesses. It corresponds to my observations that among the Masai in general, among adults, fewer cases of death occur as a consequence of illness than is the case among the Negroes living in their vicinity. Also, serious illnesses are more infrequent among them than among the former and are milder in their course. The circumstance that abortion is practiced by the women in only very rare exceptional cases also undoubtedly acts to promote health. One can sufficiently observe the harm that this bad custom has often caused primitive peoples among the various neighbors of the Masai, though [illegible] there are also exceptions to this. Thus, I met a number of Dorogga women who went through this operation four to six times and allegedly, as well as apparently, without harm.

In contrast to the high fertility there is also a rather high child mortality, though infanticide is entirely unknown. It is definitely beneficial for the child that through work the mother is not kept outside the kraal, but can always remain in the vicinity of the child. The long nursing period of about two years is also advantageous.

[illegible] He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

[illegible] The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

[illegible] *(c) Villages*: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called *bomas* or (improperly) *manyattas*. Each boma consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

[illegible] When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

595 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking. Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. But design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

[231] [513] [352] [354] [184] [462]